

Message Text

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R 281400Z MAY 74

FM AMCONSUL LUANDA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2657

INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUANDA 0379

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: POLI AO

SUBJECT: ANGOLA'S LIKELY FUTURE

1. IT IS TOO EARLY ATTEMPT EXTENSIVE POLITICAL ANALYSIS OR
PREDICT WITH MUCH CONFIDENCE OUTCOME OF PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION.
OUR CRYSTAL BALL, HOWEVER, SUGGESTS FOLLOWING LIKELY FOR ANGOLA:

A. INDEPENDENCE IS FOREGONE CONCLUSION. CHIEF QUESTIONS ARE
HOW, WHEN, AND WHETHER SOME LINKS (SENTIMENTAL, CULTURAL,
ECONOMIC, DEFENSE) MAY BE RETAINED WITH PORTUGAL. VERY TENTATIVE
ANSWERS: (1) HOW - THROUGH PLEBISCITE/REFERENDUM WHICH WILL IN-
CLUDE "ALL OPTIONS," NOTWITHSTANDING DEMANDS BY INSURGENT
MOVEMENTS FOR INSTANT INDEPENDENCE; (2) WHEN - WITHIN A YEAR OR
18 MONTHS (AS SOON AS REFERENDUM IS HELD HERE); (3) LINKS - NONE
AT FIRST, EVENTUALLY PROBABLY ALL EXCEPT DEFENSE.

B. GOVERNMENT OF INDEPENDENT ANGOLA LIKELY TO BE AUTHORITARIAN.
THERE ARE NO DEMOCRATIC ROOTS HERE, AND TIME IS TOO SHORT AND
CULTURAL GAPS TOO WIDE REALISTICALLY TO EXPECT REPRESENTATIVE
GOVERNMENT TO SURVIVE, IF IN FACT IT EVER IS ATTEMPTED. AFTER
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ALL PRESENT ORDER HERE, PERMISSIVE AS IT MAY APPEAR, IN REALITY

IS STILL A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP.

C. POWER WILL BE IN HANDS OF URBAN (DETRIBALIZED) BLACK ELITE WHO MAY BE WILLING TO ACCEPT MESTIZOS AND SOME WHITES IN LEADERSHIP POSITIONS (UNTIL SUFFICIENT NUMBERS OF BLACKS EMERGE). GOVERNMENT WILL PROBABLY TEND TOWARD SOME FORM OF AFRO-PSEUDO-SOCIALISM. SOMETHING LIKE MPLA WILL PROBABLY EVENTUALLY RULE ANGOLA, BUT AGOSTINHO NETO'S LEADERSHIP BY NO MEANS CERTAIN.

D. RIVALRIES AMONG VARIOUS BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS WILL PERSIST, AND INSURGENCY MAY CONTINUE IF AID IS STILL FORTHCOMING FROM OUTSIDE. LACK OF COHESIVENESS AMONG BLACKS MAY ALSO HELP TO INSURE SOME CONTINUED NON-BLACK PARTICIPATION AT LEAST IN FIRST GOVERNMENT.

E. THERE WILL BE IMPORTANT PRESSURES ON ZAIRE AND ZAMBIA TO ESTABLISH CORRECT RELATIONS WITH LUANDA. ANGOLA'S KEY GEOGRAPHIC POSITION SHOULD LEAD THEM TO SUPPORT STABLE, FRIENDLY GOVERNMENT HERE. (CABINDA, HOWEVER, IS QUESTION MARK.)

F. NEW ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT WILL SEVER ALL TIES WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA. (SOUTH AFRICAN CONSUL GENERAL HERE CONCURS; IS AIMING TO CLOSE UP SHOP IN 18 MONTHS. IS ALREADY DISCRETELY LOOKING FOR BUYER FOR SAG-OWNED RESIDENCE.)

2. MAJORITY OF NON-BLACKS (WHITES, MESTIZOS, AND HANDFUL OF OTHERS) WHO NOW POSSIBLY NUMBER 10 PERCENT OF POPULATION (NEAR 600,000) WILL REMAIN HERE AND ADJUST TO NEW ORDER IF TRANSITION IS ORDERLY. EVENTUALLY THEIR PRESENCE AND INFLUENCE SHOULD ENSURE ANGOLA REMAINS IN (OR RETURNS TO) LUSO-BRAZILIAN CULTURAL FOLD. THIS ASSUMES ARMY WILL BE WILLING TO MAINTAIN ORDER UNTIL PLEBISCITE TAKES PLACE. SHOULD POLITICAL SITUATION IN PORTUGAL DETERIORATE SHARPLY (AS MANY WHITES HERE SEEM TO BELIEVE), ARMY WOULD NOT STICK AROUND. IN THAT CASE, SOME ATTEMPT AT UDI BY NON-BLACKS WOULD BE A DISTINCT POSSIBILITY WITH ENSUING RACIAL BLOODBATH (WHITES AGAINST BLACKS) LIKELY.

3. FOREGOING SHOULD BE CLEARER (OR DISPROVEN) WITHIN ABOUT SIX MONTHS, WHEN ANGOLA'S OWN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE EST-
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ABLISHED POLITICAL GUIDELINES FOR EVENTUAL PLEBISCITE, AND GENUINE POLITICAL ACTIVITY SHOULD BE WELL UNDERWAY.
BRIGGS

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